

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE IMMEDIATE 2591

C O N F I D E N T I A L SAN JOSE 0318

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FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: SECRETARY KISSINGER'S VISIT TO CENTRAL AMERICA

1. IN KEEPING WITH OUR CONVERSATION, FOLLOWING ARE MY COMMENTS ON THE DRAFT GIVEN TO US IN GUATEMALA OF THE REMARKS OF THE TOAST TO BE MADE BY SECRETARY KISSINGER DURING HIS LUNCHEON WITH THE CENTRAL AMERICAN CHIEFS OF STATE.

2. WHILE IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES THE FOCUS OF THE TOAST SHOULD BE PRIMARILY ON CENTRAL AMERICA, IT SHOULD NOT BE EXCLUSIVELY SO. AS LONG AS WE MAINTAIN SEPARATE EMBASSIES AND ACTIVITIES IN THESE COUNTRIES, WE AUTOMATICALLY INDICATE AN INTEREST IN BILATERAL RELATIONS. FURTHERMORE, DESPITE EFFORTS OF CENTRAL AMERICANS TO ACHIEVE INTEGRATION, THE SEPARATE COUNTRIES ALL HAVE A STRONG SENSE OF NATIONHOOD AND ACT INDEPENDENTLY ON SEVERAL ISSUES. THEY EXPECT THIS INDIVIDUALITY TO BE RECOGNIZED. THEREFORE THE TOAST OR OTHER PUBLIC STATEMENT SHOULD GIVE SOME INDICATION THAT WE DO ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO BILATERAL RELATIONS. WORDING MIGHT BE INCLUDED ALONG FOLLOWING LINES:

"THE UNITED STATES HAS HISTORICALLY ENJOYED CLOSE, FRATERNAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH EACH OF THE CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES. WE HAVE VALUED YOUR COOPERATION, SUPPORT AND UNDERSTANDING THROUGH THE YEARS. IN THE GREAT CHALLENGES OF WAR AND PEACE, WE HAVE INVARIABLY STOOD SIDE BY SIDE. I BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE MADE IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO EACH

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OTHER'S SECURITY, WELFARE AND DEVELOPMENT. THE UNITED

STATES IS DETERMINED TO MAINTAIN THESE CORDIAL RELATIONSHIPS
BILATERALLY AS WELL AS THROUGH THE REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
YOU HAVE CHOSEN TO ESTABLISH."

3. SINCE CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES ARE PART OF THE INTER-AMERICAN
SYSTEM, THE TOAST SHOULD PROPERLY CONTAIN SOME REFERENCE TO THE
BROADER GROUPING. THAT MIGHT BE DONE THROUGH INCLUSION OF SOME
LANGUAGE ALONG THESE LINES:

"WE APPRECIATE ALL THAT YOU HAVE DONE BOTH INDIVIDUALLY AND
COLLECTIVELY TO MODERNIZE AND STRENGTHEN THE INTER-AMERICAN
SYSTEM. WE BELIEVE, AS YOU EVIDENTLY DO, THAT INTERNATIONAL
COOPERATION SHOULD COME FIRST AND MOST EASILY WITH ONE'S
NEIGHBORS. WE CONSIDER THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM TO BE AN
IMPORTANT INSTRUMENT FOR PROMOTING SUCH COOPERATION. WE TAKE
THAT SYSTEM SERIOUSLY AND DEDICATE OURSELVES TO AN EFFORT TO
ENSURE ITS EFFECTIVENESS BECAUSE WE BELIEVE THAT A STRONG
INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM WILL SERVE THE CAUSE, AND PROMOTE THE
SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT OF ALL OUR COUNTRIES".

4. RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY, THE CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES CONSIDER
THEMSELVES ACTORS ON THE WORLD STAGE, AND, IN FACT, IN CONNECTION
WITH THEIR MEMBERSHIP IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, THEY HAVE HAD
THEIR WORD TO SAY AND VOTES TO CAST ON MAJOR INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS.
IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES, FAILURE TO REFER TO ANY MAJOR INTERNATIONAL
PROBLEM, RISKS LEAVING THE IMPRESSION THAT THERE IS NOTHING TO
TALK TO CENTRAL AMERICANS ABOUT EXCEPT CENTRAL AMERICA. THIS
COULD BE INTERPRETED AS PATRONIZING OR EVEN INSULTING. TAKING
THIS INTO ACCOUNT, THE TOAST MIGHT CONTAIN AT LEAST SOME BROAD
REFERENCE TO WORLD PROBLEMS ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES:

"AS THE UNITED STATES HAS HAD TO DEAL OVER THE YEARS WITH
PROBLEMS OF CRITICAL INTERNATIONAL IMPORTANCE AFFECTING
PEACE, JUSTICE AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, IT HAS BEEN A
SOURCE OF GREAT SATISFACTION TO FIND THE POSITIONS OF YOUR
COUNTRIES SO SIMILAR TO OUR OWN. WE HAVE BEEN GREATLY
IMPRESSED AND ENCOURAGED BY THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE CENTRAL
AMERICAN COUNTRIES HAVE HAD THE COURAGE OF THEIR CONVICTIONS
AND THE WILLINGNESS TO SPEAK OUT FOR WHAT THEY BELIEVE TO
BE RIGHT. THE CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES HAVE
AVOIDED HIDING BEHIND AUTOMATIC MAJORITIES OR PRETENDING
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ISOLATION FROM WORLD PROBLEMS AND HAVE INSTEAD OPENLY RECOGNIZED
THAT THEY AFFECT AND ARE AFFECTED BY MAJOR WORLD PROBLEMS
OF PEACE, REDUCTION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS, FOOD,
ENERGY AND POPULATION TO NAME BUT A FEW. YOUR THOUGHTFUL
IDEAS WITH REGARD TO SOME OF THESE ISSUES HAVE HELPED
TO FOCUS ATTENTION APPROPRIATELY AND HAVE CONTRIBUTED
TO GUIDING DISCUSSIONS ON THEM. YOU HAVE DEMONSTRATED
YOUR OWN REALIZATION THAT WHEN PEACE OR FREEDOM ARE

THREATENED ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD THE THREAT EXTENDS TO EACH OF US. USE OF FORCE OR THE THREAT OF FORCE TO DETERMINE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHERS CARRY MESSAGES OF THREAT TO ALL OTHERS WHO MAY BE UNABLE ON THEIR OWN TO RESIST SUCH OUTSIDE PRESSURES".

"ACHIEVING STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION CONCERNS NOT ONLY THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES BUT THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE, SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. WORKING FOR A JUST, EQUITABLE AND PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM AFFECTS NOT ONLY THE COUNTRIES IMMEDIATELY INVOLVED BUT ALL OTHERS SINCE AN OUTBREAK OF WAR ANYWHERE COULD HAVE NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES FOR ALL OF US IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER. ACHIEVING BALANCE AND UNDERSTANDING AMONG THE MAJOR POWERS OF THE WORLD, INCLUDING THOSE IN THE FAR EAST, IS IMPORTANT ALSO TO THE SMALLER COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD. SEARCH FOR INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS ON COMMODITIES, ON ENERGY, ON FOOD PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION, ON POPULATION, ON FLOW OF NARCOTICS, AND ON TERMS OF TRADE WILL HAVE FAR REACHING CONSEQUENCES FOR THE WELFARE AND VERY LIVES OF PEOPLE IN EVERY COUNTRY. WE APPRECIATE THE DEGREE TO WHICH YOU HAVE SHARED THESE VIEWPOINTS AND HAVE PROVIDED YOUR FULL COOPERATION AND SUPPORT TO THE UNITED STATES AS WE HAVE HAD TO DEVOTE SO MUCH OF OUR ATTENTION TO THESE MAJOR ISSUES".

5. AS PART OF EFFORT TO REDUCE EMPHASIS ON CENTRAL AMERICA IN FACT AND TO AVOID SOME REPETITION, SOME OF THE PRESENT LANGUAGE OF THE DRAFT MIGHT BE OMITTED. THIS MIGHT INCLUDE ALL OF FOURTH AND SIXTH PARAGRAPHS BEGINNING WITH "MOST IMPORTANT" AND "STATISTICS" RESPECTIVELY. UNDOUBTEDLY PROCESS OF REVISING WILL RESULT IN NEEDED TIGHTENING UP OF LANGUAGE IN SOME OTHER PARAGRAPHS.

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YM IT WOULD BE HELPFUL AND APPROPRIATE IF THE REMARKS COULD BE CAST IN A BICENTENNIAL FRAMEWORK, PARTICULARLY SINCE THEY WILL BE MADE ON THE DAY FOLLOWING GEORGE WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY. FOR EXAMPLE, THERE COULD BE SOME LANGUAGE INDICATING THAT AS WE COMPLETE 200 YEARS OF OUR INDEPENDENCE, DESPITE OUR NEW RESPONSIBILITIES WHICH OBLIGE US TO FOCUS ON PROBLEMS OCCURRING FAR REMOVED FROM THIS HEMISPHERE, WE WISH TO RENEW AND STRENGTHEN OUR TIES WITH OUR OLD FRIENDS AND WORK WITH THEM TO PROJECT A COURSE TOGETHER INTO THE FUTURE.

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